### A Jewish Jesuit in the Eastern Mediterranean

In A Jewish Jesuit in the Eastern Mediterranean, Robert John Clines retraces the conversion and missionary career of Giovanni Battista Eliano, the only Jewish-born member of the Society of Jesus. He highlights the lived experience of conversion, and how converts dealt with others' skepticism of their motives. Clines uses primary sources, including Eliano's personal letters, missionary reports, and autobiography, together with scholarship on conversion in the early modern Mediterranean world, to illustrate how false and sincere conversion often mirrored each other in outward performance. Devout converts were not readily taken at face value and needed to prove themselves in the moment and over the course of their lifetimes. Consequently, Eliano's story underscores that the mystical, introspective nature of religious belief and the formulation of new spiritual selves came into direct confrontation with the ways in which converts needed to present themselves to others in an age of political and religious turmoil.

Robert John Clines is a scholar of the history and culture of the early modern Mediterranean world. A recipient of a Rome Prize from the American Academy in Rome, he has also held fellowships from the U.S.-Italy Fulbright Commission, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, and the University of Cambridge.

# A Jewish Jesuit in the Eastern Mediterranean

Early Modern Conversion, Mission, and the Construction of Identity

**ROBERT JOHN CLINES** 

Western Carolina University



#### CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108485340 DOI: 10.1017/9781108756419

© Cambridge University Press 2020

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2020

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd, Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

18BN 978-1-108-48534-0 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

## Contents

Acknowledgments	<i>page</i> vi
Introduction	I
1 Becoming a Jewish Jesuit: Eliano's Early Years	24
<ol> <li>Jesuit Missionary or Jewish Renegade? Eliano's Confrontation with His Jewish Past</li> </ol>	57
3 Jesuit Anti-Judaism and the Fear of Eliano's Jewishness on the First Mission to the Maronites of Lebanon	90
4 Textual Transmission, Pastoral Ministry, and the Re-Fashioning of Eliano's Intellectual Training	119
5 Revisiting Eliano's Jewishness on His Return to Egypt	150
6 The Coptic Mission, Mediterranean Geopolitics, and the Mediation of Eliano's Jewish and Catholic Identities	173
7 Eliano's Reconciliation with His Jewishness in His Later Years	201
Epilogue	222
Bibliography Index	228 258

v

### Acknowledgments

Writing a book is hard. I certainly would not have completed this project without the legion of support that I have received over the past decade. This book began as a doctoral thesis at Syracuse University under the direction of Dennis Romano. Dennis is a wonderful mentor who pushes me to interrogate the past and think more complexly about what exactly I am trying to do with the source material. This book would not exist without his kind words, insights, and advice, which extend well past my dissertation defense and continue even as I type this. His sustained counsel, tips for rethinking things, knack for getting me unstuck, and willingness to scold me when I need to think more (or think less) have been immeasurably helpful, and no thanks can do them justice. Likewise, Junko Takeda remains a close reader of my work and reminds me constantly what the Mediterranean is, what it is not, and why it is such a fascinating place (or idea!) to study.

Ed Muir has pushed me to rethink everything and to always question what I've rethought; and he is a constant beacon of light in an often dark and dreary sea of half-cooked ideas and wholly undercooked written words. Bronwen Wilson introduced me to a broader definition of conversion and she pushes me to think more abstractly while never losing sight of the importance of the subjects we study. Stella Nair continues to cheer on my work and provide me with insights into worlds I had never even considered. I now know more about space and place – to say nothing of the world beyond the Mediterranean – than I ever thought I would.

I also have to thank Abdulhamit Arvas, who completely bent my disciplinary will by pushing me more toward the theoretical and literary texts that often scared and scarred me as a student. The same goes for

vi

### Acknowledgments

Paul Yachnin, who does not shy away from thrusting literature on unsuspecting historians. I never even considered I would have to think about Shakespeare and Marlowe to understand Eliano, but here we are.

I also want to thank the group of unapologetic Mediterraneanists who organically and periodically came together at the American Academy in Rome over meals and Negronis. None of them is both a historian and an early modernist, and this turned out to be a wonderful thing. They rattled me temporally and methodologically, which hurt at the time but has borne wonderful fruits. Thanks especially go to Mary Beard, Caroline Cheung, Hussein Fancy, Leon Grek, Jessica Marglin, Barry Strauss, and Joseph Williams.

The same goes for the Mediterraneanists who have heard my conference papers and whose papers have given me much to consider. At the core of this group are Megan Armstrong, Allyson Poska, Brian Sandberg, and Junko Takeda. But, much like the Mediterranean itself, this group's landscape is amorphous and its members ever-changing, yet it remains forever itself. Our scholarly crowdsourcing at various conferences has been one of my most enjoyable and formative experiences as a scholar. Thank you, and I'll see you all soon at whichever conference calls us together next.

I am grateful for my supportive colleagues in the Department of History and the International Studies Program at Western Carolina University. While I was away in places as far afield as Cambridge, Florence, and Rome, they picked up my slack by advising my students and shouldering the extra service burden. Also, my students at WCU deserve special recognition. Their enthusiasm for all things historical and their undying perspicacity are a constant reminder that good history does not have to be complicated. It just needs to be about the people and their stories.

Essential to this project was access to Eliano's papers, which are held at the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, the Jesuit archive in Rome. Simply put, this project does not exist without the help of archivist Mauro Brunello. Not only did Mauro help me locate the sources I wanted, but he often brought me materials I did not know existed. A good archivist is a tired historian's best friend. Thanks go to Camilla Russell for her enthusiasm for the project over the years and her firm belief that Eliano "deserves a book."

At Syracuse University, I received generous funding from the Department of History, the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, and the Moynihan Institute of Global Affairs. This funding allowed me to viii

#### Acknowledgments

conduct preliminary archival research. I also received generous support from Western Carolina University in the form of research grants from the College of Arts and Sciences and the Graduate School.

Several institutions have also been central to this book's completion, as well as my continued intellectual growth. I received a Fondazione Lemmermann Fellowship for the Study of Roman Culture, which allowed for some preliminary archival work in Rome, as well as a Fulbright to Italy. The hardest part of a project of this scope is finding the time to think and write. I was able to think thoughts and write words thanks to the generous support of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, which allowed me to participate in the Academy for Advanced Study in the Renaissance, directed by Ed Muir and Regina Schwartz. I also found ample time for reflection and writing at Selwyn College, Cambridge, thanks to a jointlyfunded Post-Doctoral grant from the Early Modern Conversions Project, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, and the Center for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences, and Humanities (CRASSH) at the University of Cambridge. Special recognition goes to Simon Goldhill, former director of CRASSH, who gave me an outsider's perspective on early modernity that has radically altered what I think I do.

I am forever indebted to the American Academy in Rome, where I was a Rome Prize Fellow in 2016–2017. In addition to providing me the time to finish a draft of this book, the Academy was a wonderful environment to try out new ideas, take intellectual risks, and learn so much about a city I thought I knew so well. In addition to the wonderful community of Fellows and Residents, the Academy works because of its staff. President Mark Robbins stressed the importance of collaboration and the need for the Arts and Humanities in trying times. Thanks also to the Rome Sustainable Food Project for keeping me well fed. I was also fortunate enough to be a Fellow at the American Academy in Rome under the directorship of two wonderful scholars and people, Kim Bowes and John Ochsendorf. Both, in their own ways, shaped my intellectual outlook through their kindness and candidness. Also, thanks go to Lindsay Harris, who was the Andrew W. Mellon Professor-in-Charge of the Humanities; no matter my state of despair, Lindsay remained enthusiastic about my work. Lastly, I remain in awe of the hard work of the Drue Heinz Librarian, Sebastian Hierl, and his staff. They strove to ensure that the Library had the books we needed and did everything they could to get them when it didn't.

At Cambridge University Press, I thank my editor, Beatrice Rehl, for her belief and enthusiasm in this project from the very beginning.

### Acknowledgments

Her continued support and excitement for how the book has developed over time means the world. Likewise, Eilidh Burrett has provided further help and enthusiasm for a project I must admit I took too long to write. I also want to thank the book's two blind reviewers. Their feedback compelled me to reconsider much about Eliano, conversion, and the Mediterranean. Without them, this book simply wouldn't be what it is. I owe a world of thanks to my production editor Sarah Lambert and project manager Sindhu Ayyappan for overseeing the final stages of this book. I am also forever indebted to Beth Morel, my copyeditor, for keeping a close eye on the manuscript and preventing me from embarrassing myself any more than necessary.

I thank the respective editors for permission to reprint revised versions of two essays: "How to Become a Jesuit Crypto-Jew: The Self-Confessionalization of Giovanni Battista Eliano through the Textual Artifice of Conversion," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 48:1 (Spring 2017): 3–26; and "Wayward Leadership and the Breakdown of Reform on the Failed Jesuit Mission to the Maronites, 1577-1579," *Journal of Early Modern History* 22:4 (Summer 2018): 215–37.

Lastly, special thanks go to my parents, Dennis and Laura, for a lifetime of support and for giving me the confidence to believe that I can be whatever I want.

I dedicate this book to my partner, harshest critic, and biggest fan, my wife, Lisa. She has given me nothing but support, advice, proof reading, and love over the years. She has followed me halfway around the world, just so I can sit around, read, look at old things, and write about them. Thank you for not taking it personally when I disappear for hours on end to read, write, and think. I love you and I like you.

My apologies to whomever I have forgotten; given how many people have helped me along the way, this is nothing short of an inevitability. I could not have written this book without you, so thank you. That said, this book's shortcomings and infelicities are completely my own.

ix